

Inner Mbugu (G221)[†]

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P001 Shape of the augment: What is the shape of the augment?

V. n.a.

P002 Function of the augment: Does the augment fulfill a specific grammatical function?

V. n.a.

P003 Shape of class 5: What is the shape of the class 5 nominal prefix?

V. 2

V shape	<i>ikokohá</i>
	i-kokoha
	NPx.CL5-egg
	‘egg’
zero-marking	<i>bulé</i>
	Ø-bule
	NPx.CL5-skin
	‘skin’

N. V shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking

P004 Number of noun classes: How many noun classes are there? (excluding locative classes)

V. 16

1	m-, mw-	<i>mlagé</i>	2	va-	<i>valagé</i>
		m-lage			va-lage
		NPx.CL1-wife			NPx.CL2-wife
		‘wife’			‘wives’

[†] Phonological inventory of Inner Mbugu: p, b, t, d, tʃ, dʒ, k, g, ʔ, f, v, s, z, ʃ, x, ɣ, h, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, r, l, ɭ, j, w, i, e, a, o, u. Besides these, there is a nasal /N/ that only occurs just before the strident and assimilates to it by point of articulation and voicing ([ɲp], [mb], [ɲt], [nd], [ɲk], [ŋg], [ɲv], and so on). Tonal marking is given as surface realization.

Abbreviations: APPL ‘applicative’; ASSC ‘associative’; CAUS ‘causative’; CLn ‘noun class number’; COND ‘conditional’; CONS₁ ‘consecutive 1’; CONS₂ ‘consecutive 2’; CONT ‘continuous’; COP ‘copula’; DEM ‘demonstrative’; DIST ‘distal’; FUT ‘future’; FV ‘final vowel’; HAB ‘habitual’; LOC ‘locative’; MED ‘medial’; NEG ‘negative marker’; NegCOP ‘negative copula’; NegFUT ‘negative future’; NegPST ‘negative past’; NegSM ‘negative subject marker’; NOML ‘nominalizer’; NPx ‘nominal prefix’; OM ‘object marker’; PASS ‘passive’; PL ‘plural’; POSS ‘possessive’; PPx ‘pronominal prefix’; PRO ‘pronoun’; PROX ‘proximal’; PRS ‘present’; PST₁ ‘past 1’; PST₂ ‘past 2’; REC ‘reciprocal’; REF ‘reflexive’; REL₁ ‘relative 1’; REL₂ ‘relative 2’; SG ‘singular’; SM ‘subject marker’; STAT ‘stative’; SUBJ ‘subjunctive’

1a	Ø-	<i>abá</i> Ø-aba NPx.CL1a-father ‘father’	2	va-	<i>váabá</i> va-aba NPx.CL2-father ‘fathers’
3	m-, mw-	<i>mzuNguré</i> m-zuNgure NPx.CL3-back ‘back’	4	mi-	<i>mizunNguré</i> mi-zunNgure NPx.CL4-back ‘backs’
5	i-, Ø-	<i>ikokohá</i> i-kokoha NPx.CL5-egg ‘egg’	6	ma-	<i>makokohá</i> ma-kokoha NPx.CL6-egg ‘eggs’
7	ki-, tʃ-	<i>kiʔayú</i> ki-ʔayu NPx.CL7-food ‘food’	8	vi-, vj-	<i>viʔayú</i> vi-ʔayu NPx.CL8-food ‘foods’
9	N-, Ø-	<i>Nkwéno</i> N-kweno NPx.CL9-chicken ‘chicken’	10	N-, Ø-	<i>Nkwéno</i> N-kweno NPx.CL10-chicken ‘chickens’
11	lu-	<i>luhábi</i> lu-habi NPx.CL11-firewood ‘firewood’	10	N-, Ø-	<i>hábi</i> Ø-habi NPx.CL10-firewood ‘firewoods’
12	ka-	<i>kawahá</i> ka-waha NPx.CL12-knife ‘knife’	14	vu-	<i>vuwahá</i> vu-waha NPx.CL14-knife ‘knives’
14	u-	<i>ukurá</i> u-kura NPx.CL14a-medical_care ‘medical care’	6	ma-	<i>makurá</i> ma-kura NPx.CL6-medical_care ‘medical cares’
14a	u-	<i>uezá</i> u-eza NPx.CL14a-long ‘length’			

15	ku-	<i>kusó</i> ku-so NPx.CL15-go 'to go'			
15	ku-	<i>kusáme</i> ku-same NPx.CL15-leg 'leg'	6	ma-	<i>masáme</i> ma-same NPx.CL16-leg 'legs'
16	ha-	<i>hódi</i> ha-odi NPx.CL16-place 'place'			

P005 Class for infinitive: Does the infinitive take a noun class prefix?

V. yes (CL.15)

P006 Class for diminutive: Is diminutive meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?

V. yes (CL12/14)

kaʔini/vuʔini

ka-ʔini/vu-ʔini

NPx.CL12-child/NPx.CL14-child

'infant, baby/infants, babies'

P007 Class for augmentative: Is augmentative meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?

V. yes (CL5/6)

ihé/mahé

i-he/ma-he

NPx.CL5-person/NPx.CL6-person

'giant/giants'

imiNda/mamiNda

i-miNda/ma-miNda

NPx.CL5-house/NPx.CL6-house

'mansion/mansions'

P008 Noun class prefix omission: Is it possible to omit the noun class prefix when class membership is marked through agreement (on a modifier or on the verb)?

V. no

P009 Locative class prefixation: Can a noun take a locative class prefix?

V. yes

N. see **P004**.

P010 Locative class suffixation: Can a noun take a locative suffix?

V. yes

kidzidzini

ki-dzidzi-ni

NPx.CL7-village-LOC

‘in/at/on, etc. the village’

N. Words of Bantu origin seem to be able to appear with locative suffix and the ones of non-Bantu origin may not. In such cases, the words can appear with preposition he ‘in/at/on, etc.’

P011 Locative subject markers: Are there locative subject markers on the verb?

V. yes

iʔi

tʃuNbaní

hébódi

vahé

vanú

iʔi

ki-uNba-ni

ha-bodi

va-he

va-nu

DEM.PROX.CL16 NPx.CL7-room-LOC SM.CL16-sleep NPx.CL2-person NPx.CL2-2

‘Two persons are sleeping in this room.’

P012 Locative object markers: Are there locative pre-stem object markers on the verb?

V. yes

hápu

ha-pu

OM.CL16-destroy

‘Break there.’

P013 Locative enclitics: Are there locative post-verbal clitics?

V. no

P014 Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?

V. no

P015 Connective constructions: Is the order of connective constructions always head - connective - modifier?

V. yes

<i>mɔ́ini</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>mnáne</i>
m-ɔ́ini	wa	mnane
NPx.CL1-child	ASSC.CL1	8

‘8th child’

P016 Possessive pronouns: Are there distinct possessive pronominal forms for all noun classes and all speech act participants?

V. no

P017 Possessive pronoun agreement: Do the possessive pronouns agree in noun class with the possessed?

V. no

1SG	<i>ɔ́o</i>	1PL	<i>kánu</i>
2SG	<i>ke</i>	2PL	<i>kayú</i>
3SG	<i>kúɔu</i>	3PL	<i>kini</i>

P018 Kinds of possession: Are there specific possessive pronominal forms for different kinds of possession?

V. no

P019 Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?

V. 3

Inalienable possession

<i>éanimáje</i>	<i>mɔ́á</i>
a;aa-ni-ma-ie	m-ɔ́a
SM.CL1;PST ₂ -OM.1SG-hit-PST ₁	NPx.CL3-head

‘He/She hit his/her head.’

Alienable possession

<i>éanimáje</i>	<i>mɔ́á</i>	<i>ɔ́o</i>
a;aa-ni-ma-ie	m-ɔ́a	ɔ́o
SM.CL1;PST ₂ -OM.1SG-hit-PST ₁	NPx.CL3-head	POSS.1SG

‘He/She hit his/her head.’

P020 Demonstrative morphology: Are there morphological divisions in the system of demonstratives? (e.g. in terms of spatial and temporal deixis and/or visibility)

V. 2

<i>mhatú</i>	<i>já</i>
m-hatu	ja
NPx.CL3-tree	DEM.PROX.CL1~15
‘this tree’	
<i>mhatú</i>	<i>ka</i>
m-hatu	ka
NPx.CL3-tree	DEM.MED.CL1~15
‘that tree’	
<i>mhatú</i>	<i>hu</i>
m-hatu	hu
NPx.CL3-tree	DEM.DIST.CL1~15
‘that tree’	
N. three-way distinction	

P021 Demonstrative agreement: Do the demonstratives agree in noun class with the head noun?

V. no

	proximal	medial	distal
CL1-15	<i>já</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hu</i>
CL16	<i>iʔi</i>	<i>áta</i>	<i>tó</i>

P022 Functions of demonstratives: In addition to spatial-deictic functions, do the demonstrative pronouns assume other functions?

V. no

P023 Lexical adjectives: Are there lexical adjectives? (i.e. which are not syntactically complex)

V. yes

<i>iaserú</i>	<i>igirú</i>	/	<i>masaherú</i>	<i>magirú</i>
i-aseru	i-giru	/	ma-saheru	ma-giru
NPx.CL5-stone	NPx.CL5-big	/	NPx.CL6-stone	NPx.CL6-big
‘big stone’		/	‘big stones’	

Other adjective stems:

-*kuló* ‘good’; -*vívi* ‘bad’; -*Ntámu* ‘delicious, sweet’; -*gumú* ‘hard’; -*ezá* ‘long’; -*fuhi* ‘short’; -*girú* ‘big’; -*gitutú* ‘small’; -*viNba* ‘heavy’; -*ǎ* ‘new’; -*hálí* ‘another, other’; -*Ngi* ‘many’; -*yere* ‘a few’; -*kabúna* ‘all’; -*mé* ‘how many’; -*mína* ‘which’; -*dzíru* ‘black’; -*ʔáʔku* ‘white’; -*báju* ‘red’

P024 Adnominal concord prefixes: Are there different forms/paradigms for adnominal concord prefixes?

V. yes

<i>mhatú</i>	<i>ubáju</i>	/	<i>mihatú</i>	<i>ibáju</i>
m-hatu	u-baju	/	mi-hatu	i-baju
NPx.CL3-wood	PPx.CL3-red	/	NPx.CL4-wood	PPx.CL4-red
‘red wood’			‘red woods’	

N. Pronominal prefixes are attached to some adjective stems.

P025 Attributive linkers: Are there attributive linkers which are used to introduce adjectives?

V. no

P026 *-yanà compounding: Is a form related to *-yanà ‘child’ productively used in word formation as the first member of a nominal compound (e.g. to express diminutive or group membership...)?

V. yes

<i>mwanádzeŋi</i>	/	<i>vanádzeŋi</i>
m-ana-Ø-dzeŋi	/	va-ana-Ø-dzeŋi
NPx.CL1-child-NPx.CL9-military	/	NPx.CL2-child-NPx.CL9-military
‘soldier/soldiers’		

N. Almost all examples are loans from Swahili together with their functions.

P027 Nominal derivational suffixes: Does the language productively use nominal derivational suffixes for the expression of diminutive meanings or feminine/augmentative/qualitative meanings? (e.g. expressed by forms similar to -yanà and kazi ?)

V. no

P028 Agentive suffix -i : Does suffixation of the agentive marker -i occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (possibly in addition to classes 1/2 prefixes)?

V. 2

<i>m̥tʃéŋi</i>	/	<i>vatʃéŋi</i>
m̥-tʃe-ŋ-i	/	va-tʃe-ŋ-i
NPx.CL1-laugh-CAUS-NOML	/	NPx.CL2-laugh-CAUS-NOML
‘humorist/humorists’		

N. All examples collected in my fieldwork are loan from Swahili.

P029 Derivational suffix -o: Does the suffixation of -o occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (with sometimes the addition of the applicative extension)?

V. 2 yes, but it is no longer productive (e.g. there might be frozen forms)

<i>mló</i>
m-la-o
NPx.CL3-eat-NOML

N. Almost all examples are loans from Swahili except a few ones as below.

kidaráo

ki-dara-i-o

NPx.CL7-grab-APPL-NOML

‘handle’

P030 Cardinal numerals: Does the formation of cardinal numerals below ten obey a pattern?

V. no

1 *we*

2 *nú*

3 *kaí*

4 *háí*

5 *koí*

6 *síta*

7 *ṁfuNgáte*

8 *ṁnáné*

9 *keNdá*

10 *ikúmi*

P031 ‘arm’ and ‘hand’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘arm’ and ‘hand’?

V. yes

ṁheréya / *miheréya*

ṁ-hereya / mi-hereya

NPx.CL3-arm/hand / NPx.CL4-arm/hand

P032 ‘hand’ and ‘finger’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘hand’ and ‘finger’?

V. no

kiłatú / *viłatú*

ki-łatu / vi-łatu

NPx.CL7-finger / NPx.CL8-finger

P033 ‘leg’ and ‘foot’: Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘leg’ and ‘foot’?

V. yes

kusáme / *masáme*

ku-same / ma-same

NPx.CL15-leg/foot / NPx.CL6-leg/foot

P034 ‘tea’: Is the word for ‘tea’ similar to cha?

V. yes

tʃái

Ø- tʃái

NPx.CL9-tea

P035 Inchoative verbs: Is there a group of verbs expressing qualities or states which are lexically inchoative and are thus typically used with a perfect/perfective verb form to express a present state? (e.g. fall asleep, be full, be late, be dirty, etc)

V. yes

<i>-kwáha</i>	<i>-bódi</i>	<i>-hú</i>
-kwaha	-bodi	-hu
'be_tired'	'fall_asleep'	'be_full'

P036 Canonical passive: Is the canonical passive productively expressed through a verbal extension?

V. yes

-w (attached to the verb stem (radical (+derivational suffix(es)) which ends with consonants)

<i>áagwáiwa</i>	<i>héra</i>	<i>kúʔu</i>
a;aa-gwa-i-w-a	Ø-hera	kuʔu
SM.CL1;PST ₂ -steal-APPL-PASS-FV	NPx.CL9-money	POSS.CL1
'He/She had his/her many stolen.'		

N. When the verb stems end with vowels, the final vowels become -e, not -a.

<i>áamáwe</i>	<i>ń</i>	<i>rafiki</i>	<i>kúʔu</i>
a;aa-ma-w-a	ni	Ø-rafiki	kuʔu
SM.CL1;PST ₂ -hit-PASS-FV	by	NPx.CL1a-friend	POSS.CL1
'He/She was hit by his/her friend.'			

P037 'Impersonal' passive: Can an 'impersonal' construction be used to express passive meaning?

V. null

P038 Agent noun phrase: How is the agent noun phrase (when present) introduced?

V. 4

ní (short form: *ń*)

P039 Bare agent: Can the preposition/copula which introduces the agent be omitted?

V. no?

P040 Reciprocal/associative: How is reciprocal/associative meaning expressed?

V. 3

N. Verb without reciprocal suffix with preposition *na* can also have a reciprocal/associative meaning.

P041 Other functions for -an-: Does the suffix -an- (or similar form) have functions other than reciprocal (e.g. antipassive function)?

V. yes

-pátíkána

-pat-ik-an-a

get-STAT-REC-FV

‘be available’

N. stative/passive

P042 Causative: How is causative meaning expressed ?

V. 3

-(i/e)ʃ, -(i/e)dʒ, -ti

-iʃ/-eʃ

náahúíʃa

ni-aa-hu-iʃ-a

SM.1SG-PST₂-be_full-CAUS-FV

‘I fullfilled water.’

maʒí

ma-ʒi

NPx.CL6-water

-idʒ/-edʒ

twááásídʒa

tu-aa-asi-dʒ-a

SM.1PL-PST₂-be_cooked_well-CAUS-FV

nihí

N-ihí

NPx.CL9-meat

-ti

mamé

Ø-mame

NPx.CL1a-mother

áamwaháti

a;aa-m-waha-ti

SM.CL1;PST₂-OM.CL1-drink-CAUS

mʒini

m-ʒini

NPx.CL1-child

maʒiba

ma-ʒiba

NPx.CL6-milk

‘Mother made her child drink milk.’

P043 Instrumental causative: Can the causative extension be used to introduce prototypical instruments?

V. no

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

V. 1

-i/-j

náampáʔája

mamé

yó

nihí

ni-aa-m-paʔa-i-a

Ø-mame

yo

N-ihí

SM.1SG-PST₂-OM.CL1-cut-APPL-FV

NPx.CL1a-mother

POSS.1SG

NPx.CL9-meat

‘I cut meat for my mother.’

N. -j is attached to the verb stems which end with vowels.

P045 Applicative functions: In addition to the benefactive meaning typically associated with the applicative complement, do applicative constructions convey other meanings?

V. yes

N. Malefactive, substitutive, recipient, instrumental, direction/goal, reverse direction, locative, reason, and possessor.

P046 Multiple applicative extensions: Can two (or more) applicative extensions be productively used in the same verb form?

V. no?

P047 Neuter/stative: Is there a productive neuter/stative extension?

V. 1

ikokohá

láakáʔika

i-kokoha

li-aa-kaʔ-ik-a

NPx.CL5-egg

SM.CL5-PST₂-break-STAT-FV

‘An egg was broken.’

P048 Order of suffixes: Is there a specific order in which multiple productive verbal extensions typically appear?

V. 1

N. causative-applicative-reciprocal-passive (CARP) order

P049 Negation in independent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in independent tenses?

V. 1

temwáho

tem-aho

NegSM.2PL-see

‘You (PL) do not see.’

<i>kawahá</i>	<i>kawé</i>	<i>tekénatú</i>
ka-waha	ka-we	teke-na-lu
NPx.CL12-knife	NPx.CL12-one	NegSM.CL12-NegPST ₂ -fall

‘A knife did not fall down.’

N. conditionals

<i>síkasó</i>	<i>ṁdʒíni</i>	<i>ékúsáalíta</i>	<i>lenú</i>
si-ka-so	ṁ-dʒi-ni	e-ku-saa-lit-a	lenu
SM.1SG-NegFUT-go	NPx.CL3-town-LOC	SM.CL1-COND-NEG-come-FV	tomorrow

‘I will not go to the town if he/she comes tomorrow.’

P050 Negation in dependent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in dependent tenses?

V. 1

<i>úsiwáha</i>	<i>maʔí</i>
u-si-waha	ma-ʔi
SM.2SG-NEG-drink	NPx.CL6-water

‘Do not drink water.’

P051 Negation in relative clauses: Is negation in relative clauses expressed in the same way as in another clause type?

V. 2

<i>vaʔiní</i>	<i>vó</i>	<i>tevésóma</i>	<i>kikuló</i>
va-ʔini	vo	teve-som-a	ki-kuło
NPx.CL2-child	REL ₁ .CL2	NegSM.CL2-study-FV	NPx.CL7-good
<i>tevėkapátė</i>		<i>ṁamálo</i>	<i>kułó</i>
teve-ka-pat-e		N-amalo	Ø-kuło
NegSM.CL2-NegFUT-get-FV		NPx.CL10-job	NPx.CL10-good

‘The children who do not study well will not get good jobs.’

P052 Place of negation in independent tenses: Where is negation expressed in independent tenses?

V. 7

N. Negation is expressed in the pre-initial position in most main clauses except conditionals (in the post-initial position)

P053 Place of negation in dependent tenses: Where is negation expressed in dependent tenses?

V. 2

N. In the post-initial position only? (SM-NEG-...)

P054 Number of negation markers in independent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in independent tenses?

V. 1

P055 Number of negation markers in dependent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in dependent tenses?

V. 1

P056 Independent negative particle: Is there an independent negative particle used to express negation?

V. no

P057 First person singular negative: Is there a specific first person singular negative subject prefix which is different from the affirmative one?

V. 2

sí-

N. In the conditionals and subjunctives, the combination of affirmative singular subject prefix and negative prefix is used.

P058 Negative imperative: Is there a negative imperative which is formally distinct from the negative subjunctive?

V. no

P059 Periphrastic negation: Is negation in certain tense/aspect/moods expressed by means of a periphrastic form (e.g. making use of an auxiliary construction or a verb like ‘refuse/deny’ for instance)? (see P049)

V. no

P060 Subject-verb agreement: Is there subject-verb agreement?

V. yes

1SG *ɲneɬú*

ɲ-ne-lu

SM.1SG-FUT-fall

‘I will fall down.’

1PL *tuneɬú*

tu-ne-lu

SM.1PL-FUT-fall

‘We will fall down.’

2SG	<i>unehú</i>	
	u-ne-lu	
	SM.2SG-FUT-fall	
	‘You (SG) will fall down.’	
2PL	<i>ṁnehú</i>	
	ṁ-ne-lu	
	SM.2PL-FUT-fall	
	‘You (PL) will fall down.’	
CL1	<i>ṁhé</i>	<i>énehú</i>
	ṁ-hé	e-ne-lu
	NPx.CL1-person	SM.CL1-FUT-fall
	‘A person will fall down.’	
CL2	<i>vahé</i>	<i>vénehú</i>
	va-hé	ve-ne-lu
	NPx.CL2-person	SM.CL2-FUT-fall
	‘People will fall down.’	
CL3	<i>ṁhatú</i>	<i>únehú</i>
	ṁ-hatu	u-ne-lu
	NPx.CL3-tree	SM.CL3-FUT-fall
	‘A tree will fall down.’	
CL4	<i>mihatú</i>	<i>ínehú</i>
	mi-hatu	i-ne-lu
	NPx.CL4-tree	SM.CL4-FUT-fall
	‘Trees will fall down.’	
CL5	<i>ilua</i>	<i>lénehú</i>
	i-lua	lenelu
	NPx.CL5-flower	SM.CL5-FUT-fall
	‘A flower will fall down.’	
CL6	<i>malua</i>	<i>énehú</i>
	ma-lua	e-ne-lu
	NPx.CL6-flower	SM.CL6-FUT-fall
	‘Flowers will fall down.’	
CL7	<i>kikíre</i>	<i>tĩnehú</i>
	ki-kire	tĩ-ne-lu
	NPx.CL7-chair	SM.CL7-FUT-fall
	‘A chair will fall down.’	

CL8	<i>vikire</i>	<i>vinehú</i>
	vi-kire	vi-ne-lu
	NPx.CL8-chair	SM.CL8-FUT-fall
	‘Chairs will fall down.’	
CL9	<i>gomaé</i>	<i>ínehú</i>
	Ø-gomae	i-ne-lu
	NPx.CL9-clothes	SM.CL9-FUT-fall
	‘A cloth will fall down.’	
CL10	<i>gomaé</i>	<i>dzínehú</i>
	Ø-gomae	dzi-ne-lu
	NPx.CL10-clothes	SM.CL10-FUT-fall
	‘Clothes will fall down.’	
CL11	<i>luhábi</i>	<i>lúnehú</i>
	lu-habi	lu-ne-lu
	NPx.CL11-firewood	SM.CL11-FUT-fall
	‘A firewood will fall down.’	
CL12	<i>kawahá</i>	<i>kénehú</i>
	ka-waha	ka-ne-lu
	NPx.CL12-knife	SM.CL12-FUT-fall
	‘A knife will fall down.’	
CL14	<i>vuwahá</i>	<i>vúnehú</i>
	vu-waha	vu-ne-lu
	NPx.CL14-knife	SM.CL14-FUT-fall
	‘Knives will fall down.’	
CL15	<i>kuʔá</i>	<i>kwáakíta</i>
	ku-ʔa	ku-aa-kita
	NPx.CL15-eat	SM.CL15-PST ₂ -end
	‘Eating ended’	
CL16	<i>hódi</i>	<i>háapwíka</i>
	ha-odi	ha-aa-pw-ik-a
	NPx.CL16-place	SM.CL16-PST ₂ -break-STAT-FV
	‘The place was broken.’	

P061 Animate agreement: Can animate nouns show subject agreement with class 1/2 regardless of class membership? (without class shift, e.g. the addition of a diminutive class)

V. 2

N. Only human nouns show subject agreement with class 1/2 regardless of class membership.

P062 1st and 2nd person plurals : Are first person plural and second person plural subject prefixes identical?

V. no

1PL *tu-*

2PL *m-*

P063 Honorific plural: Can plural persons be used to express a honorific singular?

V. no

P064 Coordinated nominals: What subject agreement does the verb show with coordinated nominals?

V. 2

P065 Past time reference: How is past time reference formally divided?

V. 3

N. Past1, past2/perfect and completive past

Past1

<i>tusóje</i>	<i>ósa</i>
tu-so-ie	osa
SM.1PL-go-PST ₁	yesterday

‘We went yesterday.’

Past2

<i>náaʔá</i>	<i>viʔayú</i>	<i>vjá</i>	<i>tfákakó</i>
ni-aa-ʔa	vi-ʔayu	vja	ʔjakako
SM.1SG-PST ₂ -eat	NPx.CL8-food	ASSC.CL8	afternoon

‘I ate/have eaten lunch.’

Completive past

<i>néesóje</i>	<i>áta</i>	<i>mikó</i>	<i>ifirini</i>	<i>itáhóje</i>
ni-aa-so-ie	ata	mi-ko	ifirini	i-taho-ie
SM.1SG-PST ₂ -go-PST ₁	DEM.MED.CL16	NPx.CL4-year	20	SM.CL4-pass-PST ₁

‘I went there twenty years ago.’

N. In negation, completive past and past1 shows same time reference, on the other hands, the negation of past2 expresses imperfect.

P066 Future time reference: How is future time reference formally divided?

V. 1

P067 Suffix -ag-: Is there a tense/aspect (pre-final) suffix -ag- or a similar form used with an imperfective meaning (expressing for instance habituality/iterativity/pluractionality/intensity)?

V. yes

-á

<i>mɔ́ɪní</i>	<i>yó</i>	<i>éʃeNdʒíyáa</i>	<i>hé</i>	<i>uwáNdʒá</i>
m-ɔ́ini	yo	a-ʃeNdʒiɣ-a-a	he	u-waNdʒa
NPx.CL1-child	POSS.1SG	SM.CL1-play-HAB-FV	in	NPx.CL11-field
<i>mpaká</i>	<i>tfámayerí</i>	<i>kíla</i>	<i>iʔazé</i>	
mpaka	tfamayeri	kila	i-ʔaze	
until	evening	every	NPx.CL5-day	

‘My child always plays in the field until the evening every day.’

N. In the case of the verb stem which ends with vowels, -a is not attached; instead, the final vowel of the stem has a high tone and is lengthened with a low tone as in the following example.

<i>já</i>	<i>mɔ́ɪní</i>	<i>tézóo</i>	<i>kabísa</i>
ja	m-ɔ́ini	te-zo-o	kabisa
DEM.PROX.CL1~15	NPx.CL1-child	NegSM.CL1-cry-FV	at_all

‘This child never cries.’

P068 Suffix -ile: Is there a tense/aspect suffix -ile or a similar form (as a reflex of *-ide)?

V. yes

-je/-ie

<i>ésóje</i>	<i>ʃúlé</i>	<i>ósa</i>	
a-so-ie	Ø-ʃule	osa	
SM.CL1-go-PST ₁	NPx.CL9-school	yesterday	

‘He went to school yesterday.’

P069 Itive marker: Is there an itive motional/directional marker? (e.g. ka- prefix)

V. 1

-ka-

<i>ósa</i>	<i>náaáNtu</i>	<i>viayú</i>	<i>nikaʔá</i>
osa	ni-aa-aNtu	vi-ayu	ni-ka-ʔa
yesterday	SM.1SG-PST ₂ -cook	NPx.CL8-food	SM.1SG-CONS ₁ -eat
<i>nikabódi</i>	<i>saa</i>	<i>háí</i>	
ni-ka-bodi	Ø-saa	hai	
SM.1SG-CONS ₁ -sleep	NPx.CL9-hour	4	

‘Yesterday I cooked food, ate (it), and slept at 10.’

N. -ka- is only used in the indicatives and the past tense.

P070 Ventive marker: Is there a ventive motional/directional marker (‘come and V’)?

V. 1

Prefix: *-ze-*

<i>só</i>	<i>úzegéra</i>	<i>tfái</i>
so	u-ze-ger-a	Ø-tfai
go	SM.2SG-CONS ₂ -bring-FV	CL9/10-tea

‘Go and bring tea.’

N. The definite verb with *-ze-* occurs only after the imperative verbs. *-ze* is apparently derived from verb stem *-za* ‘come’.

P071 Imperatives: Is the basic imperative formally identical to the verb stem (root-ext.-FV)?

V. yes

só
go
‘Go.’

P072 Plural imperatives: Is there a singular/plural distinction in imperative verb forms?

V. 1

sóni
so-ni
go-PL
‘Go.’

P073 TAM slots: In an inflected verb form, is preverbal marking of tense/aspect/mood typically restricted to one slot?

V. no

<i>néekúáNtu</i>	<i>viʔayú</i>	<i>ósa</i>	<i>tfámayerí</i>
ni-aa-ku-aNtu	vi-ʔayu	osa	tfamayeri
SM.1SG-PST ₁ -CONT-cook	NPx.CL8-food	yesterday	evening

‘I was cooking food yesterday evening.’

N. Two preverbal slots have been attested with examples.

P074 Conjoint/disjoint: Does the language have a conjoint/disjoint distinction?

V. null

P075 Object marking: Are there object markers on the verb (excluding locative object markers, see parameters P012 & P013)?

V. 1

P076 Multiple object marking: Is it possible to have more than one pre-stem object marker?

a.	<i>éteániʔó</i>	<i>áni</i>	<i>magalé</i>	<i>já</i>
	a-te-a-ni-ʔo	ani	ma-gale	ja
	SM.CL1-CONT-OM.CL6-OM.1SG-give	PRO.1SG	NPx.CL6-maize	DEM.PROX.CL1~15
b	<i>*éteniaʔó</i>	<i>áni</i>	<i>magalé</i>	<i>já</i>
	a-te-ni-a-ʔo	ani	magale	ja
	SM.CL1-CONT-OM.1SG-OM.CL6-give	PRO.1SG	NPx.CL6-maize	DEM.PROX.CL1~15
	‘He/She gives me this maize.’			

P077 Reflexive: Is the reflexive expressed by a reflexive marker in a pre-stem verbal slot on the verb?

Reflexive prefix: *kú-*
twáakúáho
 tu-aa-ku-aho
 SM.1PL-PST₂-REF-see
 ‘We saw ourselves.’

V. 1

túso
tu-so
SM.1PL-go
'Let's go.'

P080 Negative final vowel: Is there a negative final vowel (e.g. -i, -e)? (see also parameters P052 and P053)

P081 Defective verbs: Are there ‘defective verbs’ which do not exhibit regular inflection?

-10

<i>kawahá</i>	<i>kéeló</i>	<i>NkaNgá</i>
ka-waha	ka-aa-lo	N-kaNga
NPx.CL12-knife	SM.CL12-PST ₂ -have	NPx.CL9/10-rust

‘A knife had rust.’

<i>tunekwá</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>wá</i>	<i>mkó</i>	<i>wá</i>	<i>lenú</i>
tu-ne-kwa	na	wa	m-ko	wa	lenu
SM.1PL-FUT-be	with	NPx.CL9/10-cow	NPx.CL3-year	ASSC.CL3	tomorrow

‘We will have a cow (cows) next year.’

P082 TAM and auxiliaries: Are there dedicated auxiliaries for different tense/aspect/moods?

V. 1

<i>turoNgabúku</i>	<i>maʔí</i>
tu-roNg;a-buku	ma-ʔi
SM.1PL-first;FV-draw(something liquid)	NPx.CL6-water

‘We draw water first.’

<i>tetúkarōNgébúku</i>	<i>maʔí</i>
tetu-ka-roNg;e-buku	ma-ʔi
NegSM-NegFUT-first;FV- draw(something liquid)	NPx.CL6.water

‘We will not draw water first.’

P083 Multiple auxiliaries: Can two (or more) auxiliaries co-occur with the same main verb form?

V. null

P084 Agreement in complex constructions: In complex constructions, does the subject trigger agreement on both the auxiliary and the main verb?

V. 1

P085 Auxiliary semantics: Are there auxiliaries which express semantic notions beyond tense/aspect? (i.e. notions which are often expressed by adverbs in European languages, like manner such as ‘quickly’)

V. 2

<i>túmaNgeʔá</i>	<i>viʔayú</i>
tu-maNg;e-ʔa	vi-ʔayu
SM.1PL-hurry;SUBJ-eat	NPx.CL8-food

‘Let’s eat meal in a hurry.’

P086 Copula as auxiliary: Is the copula used as an auxiliary?

V. no

P087 Verbal relative morphology: Are there relative forming strategies which employ verbal morphology?

V. yes

N. Through specific tonal marking and relative marker (b and c). The RCs can be formed in the following ways:

- a. Without an overt relative marker
- b. With a relative pronoun specific to Mbugu (REL1)
- c. With the aNba- relative pronoun (REL2)

All three types of relative clauses observe the following three rules.

1. Head nouns precede the clause.
2. High tones on subject markers become lowered.
3. Future TA ne- has a high tone in the RC, while ne- carries a low tone in the main clause.

a.

<i>tújó</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ṁhé</i>	<i>esóje</i>	<i>lusótó</i>	<i>ósa</i>
tu-jo	na	ṁ-he	a-so-ie	lusoto	osa
SM.2PL-speak	with	NPx.CL1-person	SM.SG-go-PST ₁	Lushoto	yesterday

‘Let’s talk with the person who went to Lushoto yesterday.’

b.

<i>vaborá</i>	<i>vó</i>	<i>uvááhóje</i>	<i>ósa</i>	<i>vésó</i>
va-bora	vo	u-va-aho-ie	osa	va-so
NPx.CL2-girl	REL ₁ .CL2	SM.2SG-OM.CL2-see-PST ₁	yesterday	SM.CL2-go

háráza
Ø-haraza
NPx.CL9-river

‘The girls whom you saw yesterday go to the river.’

c.

<i>ósa</i>	<i>néehéje</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>vahé</i>	<i>aNbávo</i>
osa	ni-aa-he-ie	na	va-he	aNbavo
yesterday	SM.1SG-PST ₂ -see-PST ₁	with	NPx.CL2.person	REL ₂ .CL2

<i>váawáhi</i>	<i>kusó</i>	<i>kéna</i>
va-aa-wahi	ku-so	keṇa
SM.2PL;PST ₁ -have_an_experience	NPx.CL15-go	Kenya

‘Yesterday I met people who have been to Kenya.’

P088 Nominal relative morphology: Are there relative strategies which employ a nominal relative marker?

V. yes

N. see **P087** b and c.

P089 Relativisor agreement: When the relative marker is a separate word, does it agree with the head noun?

V. yes

P090 Subject-Relativisor: When the relative marker is a separate word, can it be preceded by the subject in non-subject relative clauses?

V. yes

N. see **P087** b.

P091 Relative verb agreement: In non-subject relatives, what does the verb of the relative clause agree with?

V. 2 the subject

N. see **P087** b.

P092 Subject-Relative verb: In non-subject relatives, can the subject be preverbal?

V. no

<i>viʔáyú</i>	<i>dʒamáli</i>	<i>evínigéríje</i>
vi-ʔayu	dʒamali	a-vi-ni-ger-i-ie
NPx.CL8-food	Jamal	SM.1SG-OM.CL8-OM.1SG-bring-APPL-PST ₁

vínitáhífa
vi-ni-tahi-f-a
SM.CL8-OM.1SG-vomit-CAUS-FV

‘The food which Jamal brought me makes me vomit.’

P093 Resumptive pronouns in relatives: In non-subject relatives, is there a resumptive element referring to the head noun (through object marking or independent pronoun)?

V. 3

Resumptive pronoun is required in the RC whose head noun is a non-subject or non-object function.

<i>mʔini</i>	<i>vemána</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ú</i>	<i>sí</i>	<i>mʔini</i>
m-ʔini	va-ma-na	na	u	si	m-ʔini
NPx.CL1-child	SM.CL2-hit-REC-FV	with	PRO.3SG	NegCOP.CL1	NPx.CL1-child

yó
yo
 POSS.1SG
 ‘The child who is exchanging blows with him is not my child.’

<i>mborá</i>	<i>náamgwáia</i>	<i>gomaé</i>	<i>kúʔu</i>
m-bora	ni-aa-m-gwa-i-a	Ø-gomae	kuʔu
NPx.CL1-girl	SM.1SG-PST ₂ -OM.CL1-steal-APPL-FV	NPx.CL9-clothes	POSS.CL1

éndaá
e-n-daa
 SM.CL1-OM.1SG-look_for
 ‘The girl I stole the clothes from is looking for me.’

P094 Headless adverbial relatives: Can headless relatives be used as adverbial clauses, with, for instance, temporal (‘when...’), locative (‘where...’), or manner (‘how...’) meaning?

V. yes

Locative

<i>siʔile</i>	<i>hó</i>	<i>edíe</i>
si-ʔile	ho	a-die
NegSM.1SG-know	REL ₁ .CL16	SM.CL1-live

‘I do not know where he/she lives.’

Manner

<i>siʔile</i>	<i>tʃó</i>	<i>vehéje</i>	<i>iʔi</i>
si-ʔile	tʃo	va-he-ie	iʔi
NegSM.1SG-know	REL ₁ .CL7	SM.CL2-arrive-PST ₁	DEM.PROX.CL16

‘I do not know how they arrived here.’

Temporal

<i>siʔile</i>	<i>hó</i>	<i>vehéje</i>	<i>iʔi</i>
si-ʔile	ho	va-he-ie	iʔi
NegSM.1SG-know	REL ₁ .CL16	SM.CL2-arrive-PST ₁	DEM.PROX.CL16

‘I do not know when they will arrive here.’

P095 Gapless relatives: Are gapless relatives/noun-modifying clauses attested?

V. yes

<i>héra</i>	<i>dʒó</i>	<i>nidiʒe</i>	<i>Nbúka</i>
Ø-hera	dʒo	ni-di-ie	N-buka
NPx.CL10-CL10-money	REL ₁ .CL10	SM.1SG-sell-PST ₁	NPx.CL10-vegetable

‘The money I got by selling vegetables.’

P096 TAM and relatives: Can relative clauses express the full range of tense/aspect/mood distinctions found in main clauses?

V. yes

N. In the relatives without overt relative markers, the past tense prefix *-íe* (-je) is much more commonly used than *-áa-*.

P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?

V. 1

<i>ní</i>	<i>vaborá</i>	<i>vefeNdziya</i>	<i>kakéra</i>	<i>já</i>	<i>ṁharáza</i>
ni	va-bora	va-feNdziy-a	Ø-kakera	ja	ṁ-haraza
COP	NPx.CL2-girl	SM.CL2-play-FV	NPx.CL9-side	ASSC.CL9	NPx.CL3-river

‘It is the girls who are playing by the river.’

<i>ní</i>	<i>vaborá</i>	<i>vó</i>	<i>uvááhóje</i>
ni	va-bora	vo	u-va-aho-ie
COP	NPx.CL2-girl	REL ₁ .CL2	SM.2SG-OM.CL2-see-PST ₁

‘It is the girls who you saw.’

P098 Clefted word classes: In addition to canonical noun phrases, may other categories be clefted?

V. yes

Locative

<i>ní</i>	<i>lusótó</i>	<i>aNbáho</i>	<i>máre</i>	<i>ísí</i>	<i>sána</i>
ni	lusoto	aNbaho	Ø-mare	i-si	sana
COP	lushoto	REL ₂ .CL16	NPx.CL9-rain	SM.CL9-rain	so_much

‘It’s Lushoto where it rains so much.’

P099 Yes/no questions: In addition to intonation, are there other means used to encode yes/no questions (polar interrogatives)?

V. no

P100 Wh-element location: In the dominant strategy for argument wh-questions, where does the wh-element typically appear?

V. 5

P101 ‘why’ applicatives: Can ‘why’ be formed through the combination of an applicative on the verb + ‘what’?

V. yes

uzóla *ahoní*

u-zo-i-a ahoni

SM.2SG-cry-APPL-FV what

‘Why are you crying?’

P102 Equative predication: How is equative predication achieved with non-discourse participants?

V. 4

N. 1st person (SG/PL) and 2nd person (SG/PL) have own (variable) copulas and 3rd person (SG/PL)/CL1/2 and other classes have a single (invariable) copula.

	SG	PL
1	<i>ni</i>	<i>tu</i>
2	<i>u</i>	<i>ṁ</i>
3	<i>ní</i>	<i>ní</i>

kúné ṁ *valagé*

kune ṁ va-lage

PRO.2PL COP.2PL NP_x.CL2-woman

‘You (PL) are women.’

<i>já</i>	<i>ní</i>	<i>ṁ-hatú</i>	<i>γó</i>
ja	ni	ṁ-hatu	γo
DEM.PROX.CL1~15	COP	NP _x .CL3-tree	POSS.1SG

‘This is my tree.’

P103 Affirmative copula: In the copula system, what is the form of the affirmative copula?

V. 1

N. see **P102**.

P104 Copula’s other meanings: In addition to equative predication, may a copula form be used to convey other meanings?

V. yes

N. *ní* also appears immediately before the agent noun in the passives (see **P036**).

P105 ‘to have’: How is possession (‘to have’) expressed?

V. 6

<i>kawahá</i>	<i>kéeló</i>	<i>NkaNga</i>
ka-waha	ka-aa-lo	N-kaNga
NPx.CL12-knife	SM.CL12-PST ₂ -have	NPx.CL9/10-rust

‘A knife had rust.’

tunekwa	na	wa	ṁko	wa	lenu
tu-ne-kwa	na	Ø-wa	ṁ-ko	wa	lenu
SM.1PL-FUT-be	with	NPx.CL9/10-cow	NPx.CL3-year	ASSC.CL3	tomorrow

‘We will have a cow (cows) next year.’

P106 Verb + cognate object: Are there verbal constructions with obligatory cognate objects?

V. yes

<i>áafeNdziya</i>	<i>ṁfeNdziyo</i>
a;aa-feNdziy-a	ṁ-feNdziy-o
SM.CL1;PST ₂ -play-FV	NPx.CL3-play-NOML

P107 Verb doubling constructions: Are there verb doubling constructions, where a non-finite verb form (e.g. infinitive, verbal base) appears before an inflected form of the same verb?

V. 2

<i>kusó</i>	<i>ṁnesó</i>	<i>mirá</i>	<i>siʔile</i>	<i>ní</i>	<i>saa</i>	<i>mé</i>
ku-so	ni-ne-so	mira	si-ʔile	ni	Ø-saa	me
INF-go	SM.1SG-FUT-go	but	NegSM.1SG-know	COP	NPx.CL10-hour	how_many

‘As for going, I will go, but I don’t know what time (I will do).’

P108 Light verb constructions: Are there complex predicates or light verb constructions of the form beat colour ‘to paint’? (e.g. ‘-piga’ in Swahili)

V. yes

<i>-boʔi</i>	<i>ṁamálo</i>
-boʔi	N-amalo
do/make	NPx.CL9/10-work

‘work’

P109 Passivisation in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object become subject under passivisation?

V. yes

BO

<i>kitédzú</i>	<i>tʃíwéíwe</i>	<i>mí</i>	<i>ní</i>	<i>mamé</i>
ki-tedzu	tʃi-we-i-w-ie	mi	ni	Ø-mame
NPx.CL7-basket	SM.CL7-bu-APPL-PASS-PST ₁	PRO.1SG	by	NPx.CL1a-mother

‘(The) basket was bought by my mother for me.’

AO

<i>niwéíwe</i>	<i>kitédzú</i>	<i>ní</i>	<i>mamé</i>
ni-we-i-w-ie	ki-tedzu	ni	Ø-mame
SM.1SG-buy-APPL-PASS-PST ₁	NPx.CL7-basket	by	NPx.CL1a-mother

‘I was bought a basket by my mother.’

P110 Object marking in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object be expressed by an object marker, independently of the other object?

V. yes

<i>éteániʔó</i>	<i>ání</i>	<i>magalé</i>
a-te-a-ni-ʔo	ani	ma-gale
SM.CL1-CONT-OM.CL6-OM.1SG-give	PRO.1SG	NPx.CL6-maize

‘He/She gave me maize.’

Applicative

<i>náatʃímwéja</i>	<i>mamé</i>	<i>yó</i>
ni-aa-tʃi-m-we-i-a	Ø-mame	yo
SM.1SG-PST ₂ -OM.CL7-OM.CL1-buy-APPL-FV	NPx.CL1a-mother	POSS.1SG

kitédzú

ki-tedzu

NPx.CL7-basket

‘I bought a basket for my mother.’

N. The case of causative has not been attested yet.

P111 Pro-drop: Can the grammatical subject be omitted (i.e. is there pro-drop)? (link with P060)

V. yes

váatúáho

va-aa-tu-aho

SM.CL2-PST₂-OM.1PL-see

‘They saw us.’

P112 Dem-Noun: Is it possible for a demonstrative to precede the head noun?

V. 1

<i>já</i>	<i>mhé</i>	<i>áamgáʔa</i>	<i>babá</i>
ja	m-he	a;aa-m-gaʔa	Ø-baba
DEM.PROX.CL1~15	NPx.CL1-person	SM.CL1;PST2-OM.CL1-kill	NPx.CL1a-father

yó
yo
POSS.1SG
‘This person killed my father.’

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?

V. yes

kíla

P114 Possessive in multiple modifiers: In the case of co-occurring modifiers, does the possessive normally appear closest to the noun?

V. yes

P115 SVO: Is Subject-Verb-Object the canonical constituent order in a neutral context (topic/comment)?

V. yes

N. see P112.

P116 Control of object order: In ditransitive constructions, are there mechanisms which control the order of multiple objects?

V. 3

P117 Object order asymmetry: In pragmatically neutral ditransitive constructions, can either object be adjacent to the verb?

V. yes

N. No examples

P118 Focus position: In simple main clauses, is there a specific syntactic focus position?

V. null

P119 Aux-Obj. pronoun-Verb: In auxiliary constructions, can object pronouns be placed between the auxiliary and the main verb?

V. no?

P120 Infinitive-Auxiliary: Is it possible for an infinitive to appear before the auxiliary?

V. no

P121 Verb-subject: Are there verb-initial clauses with subject inversion (e.g.thetic statements or subject focus)?

V. null

P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?

V. 1

<i>iʔi</i>	<i>tʃuNbani</i>	<i>hébódi</i>	<i>vahé</i>	<i>vanú</i>
iʔi	ki-uNba-ni	ha-bodi	va-he	va-nu
DEM.PROX.CL16	NPx.CL7-room-LOC	SM.CL16-sleep	NPx.CL2-person	NPx.CL2-2

‘Two persons are sleeping in this room.’

P123 Patient inversion : Is patient inversion (subject-object reversal) attested?

V. no

P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?

V. no

P125 Conjunction ‘and’: Is the conjunction ‘and’ used in coordinated nouns (or noun phrases) the same as the one used in coordinated clauses?

V. yes

P126 Subsequent/consecutive: Is there any verbal marker to express combinations of clauses encoding subsequent/consecutive events?

V. yes

Ventive marker: *-ze-* and Itive marker: *-ka-* (see **P069**).

P127 Complementiser presence: Is a subordinator/complementiser present in a subordinate clause?

V. 1

kuba

P128 Complementiser location: Where does the subordinator/complementiser appear with respect to the subordinate clause?

V. 1

P129 Complementiser origin: Is there a subordinator/complementiser derived from a verb meaning ‘say’ or ‘tell’?

V. yes

-ba
'tell'

P130 Complementiser agreement: Is there an agreement marker on the subordinator/complementiser?

V. no

P131 if-clauses expression: How are conditional clauses (or if-clauses) expressed?

V. 2

<i>síkasó</i>	<i>ṁdʒíni</i>	<i>ékúlíta</i>	<i>lenu</i>
si-ka-so	ṁ-dʒi-ni	a-ku-lit-a	lenu
SM.1SG-NegFUT-go	NPx.CL3-town-LOC	SM.CL1-COND-come-FV	tomorrow

'I will not go to the town if he/she comes tomorrow.'

P132 if-clause order: Does the subordinate if-clause always precede the main then-clause?

V. no

N. see **P131**.

P133 if-clause = then-clause: Do the verbs in the if-clause and the then-clause have the same tense/aspect marking?

V. no

N. see **P131**.

P134 Hypothetical = Counterfactual: Are hypothetical (if I Ved) and counterfactual (if I had Ved) clauses expressed in different ways?

V. yes

P135 Temporal adverbial clauses: How are temporal adverbial clauses formed (e.g. when-clause, once-clause, after-clause, before-clause, etc)?

V. 4

when-clause (past tense)

<i>ṁdehé</i>	<i>aré</i>	<i>iduka</i>	<i>láalátíwe</i>
ni-re-he	are	i-duka	li-aa-lati-w-e
SM.1SG-CONT ₁ -arrive	DEM.MED.CL16	SM.CL5-shop	SM.CL6-PST ₂ -close-PASS-FV

'When I arrived there the shop was closed.'

when-clause (present and future tense)

same as conditionals (**P131**)

P136 Locative adverbial clauses: How are locative adverbial clauses ('where'-clauses) formed?

V. 3

P137 Comparative: How is the comparative (and by extension the superlative) conveyed?

V. 2

P138 SM in non-finite clauses: Can non-finite clauses have an overt subject? (For John to eat cookies is fun / John eating cookies is fun / people to play football is annoying)

V. yes?

P139 Verb inflection in raising constructions: In raising constructions, can the raising verb (i.e. in the upper clause) and the main verb (in the lower clause) both be inflected?

V. null

P140 Morphological focus marker: Can a focused term be marked by a morphological focus marker?

V. no

P141 Focus-sensitive particles: Are there focus-sensitive particles such as 'too', 'only' or 'even'?

V. yes

P142 Subject focalisation: Are the strategies available for questioning or focusing subjects different from those available for other constituents? (e.g. subjects have to be clefted and cannot be questioned in situ)

V. no